574 the pass immediately relayed the news outside the pass. Within a short time Ta-i came to greet us with a group of more than ten white Lolo slaves in an impressive procession. He brought [73] with him two roosters as a present for a feast and told the interpreter to give us his humble regards. I was surprised that the same Ta-i who had been described to me by the Han-Chinese of Lei-po as fierce and cruel should turn out to be so subdued and polite in our presence. It is obvious that people act differently under different circumstances. No matter whether one is a Lolo or a Han-Chinese, he acts kindly or unkindly depending upon whether he considers the other [21] a friend or enemy.

614 622 554 564 Leadership in the clan village is secured through personal ability, but it also depends upon the amount of support one gets from members of the clan. Generally there are only very few black Lolo in the village, the white Lolo being the majority. The relationship between the two groups will be discussed in Chapter 7, "Class." It suffices to state here that the black Lolo constitute the ruling class and the white Lolo the subject class, and that the class distinction which comes from birth should not be confused or neglected. In Lolo society, [56] a black Lolo considers as slaves not only the white Lolo in his clan, but also those outside the clan. Similarly, a white Lolo, besides serving his own black Lolo master, has to serve any other black Lolo. On the other hand, as white Lolo families far outnumber black Lolo families, even though they recognize all black Lolo as masters, they have considerable influence in the determination of black Lolo leadership. Because of their number, their opinion becomes public opinion.

159 614 622 [59] In the region beyond Wu-chio about some 15 li west of Lei-po is located the village of the Sinicized Hu clan. When Hu Hsing-min was young, his granduncle [father's father's younger brother; see footnote, p. 25] had no children, and so his grandaunt of the Wu-p'ao family adopted her elder sister's son, A-cho T'ieh-mu, and brought him up in the family. After the death of the granduncle, the grandaunt of the Wu-p'ao family intended to make T'ieh-mu an heir to take charge of the Hu village and to manage family properties. T'ieh-mu was quite smart and capable, but the white Lolo refused to obey him; following the Lolo custom, they all rose to support Hsing-min as their leader and succeeded in driving T'ieh-mu out of the village. When Kuo Shun-chih of the Lei-po county was in charge of the government military training camp, Hu Hsing-min enlisted and became thoroughly Sinicized. He was friendly toward the Han-Chinese and contributed a great deal in the

159 622 557 177

614 just like a woman chieftain, is due to the strength of her par-
622 ents' family. Since her elder brother, Li-ch'ü Ta-chi, has been traveling frequently to Wu-chio to help manage her affairs, no one dares to challenge her power in the village. This, of course, is not a permanent solution, and Li-ch'ü shih [23] herself is well aware of it. She has confided to the author that it was unfortunate that she did not produce a male heir. She is
[589 not yet thirty-one and according to Lolo custom could very well
177] remarry, but she repeatedly announced that she would remain a widow all her life in observance of Chinese tradition. As Wu-chio is an area in which Chinese and Lolo cultures intermingle, the development of this community depends entirely upon the relationship between the two groups.

621 The cohesive force in the clan village becomes strong
614 if there is a recognized leader supported by all the people.
721 Whenever something occurs, once the leader has issued a summons, all the male adults of the village immediately assemble to take orders from him, either to undertake an expedition to fight in a clan feud or to station themselves in front of the village to protect the clan members from enemy invasion. Since the Lolo at Ma-liu Wan had made enemies of the soldiers stationed at Lei-po, anytime they heard of a movement of the soldiers, Ta-i would gather together several dozen men to lay in ambush at the slope in front of Shan-wang Miao so as to deal the government soldiers a severe blow when they passed Chin-chu Tsui at the foot of the slope. Armed clashes between government troops and Lolo people have occurred frequently. After the incident of Hu Ch'ang-pao's death, Wu-ch'i Ku-pao made several surprise attacks on the village of Wu-chio, killing, plundering, and seizing animals. As head of the village, Li-ch'ü shih, although a woman, would personally direct her steward, Ts'ai Pao-chang, to assemble the village people to resist the enemy. At that time, Chinese soldiers were still stationed in Wu-chio, and since Li-ch'ü shih was the chief of the village ward, appointed by the government, the soldiers also undertook to help her in the defense. Therefore the main factor maintaining the clan village as a unit is the union of the clan members, whose combined strength would enable them to protect the villagers' life and property and also to gain lasting independence for the village.

564 A clan leader should always demonstrate a courageous
156 spirit and place himself at the front of a combat, thereby win-
703 ning the respect and obedience of the people. This is not only
554 true of the leader, but also of all the black Lolo in the clan. They, too, should be brave enough to lead the white Lolo slaves

564 in an expedition. Therefore the black Lolo take the attitude
156 that to be killed in battle is a special honor, while the white
703 Lolo are accustomed to following the black Lolo, always taking
534 orders from them and placing themselves in a subordinate position. When Li-ch'ü Ta-chi led our inspection team out of the mountains on our way back to Lei-po, we passed Wei-kan-tien, a high slope covered with brambles and undergrowth. A strong wind and heavy rain came in succession, and we could hardly find our path in the midst of the wild grass. All of us were oppressed by the whipping rain and the numbing cold and were also in fear of some lurking tiger, leopard, snake, or scorpion. None dared to go forward but Ta-chi. Very bravely he led the team to beat a path through the wild grass. This kind of courage and determination makes the author think highly of him.

156 Bravery, however, is only one phase of Lolo leader-
554 ship; mere bravery is not enough [24] to keep one in the posi-
623 tion. For example, Li-ch'ü Pieh-t'u had a nephew [blood
614 brother's son] who is now twenty-five years old, the same age as Ta-i. A well-known fighter in Ma-liu Wan, he is said to always place himself in the front of every battle; he is also known as a deadly marksman, never missing the target whenever he shoots. But though brave, he is stupid, careless, and rude, so no one respects him. Because of this, Ta-i, though a distant relative, came to succeed Pieh-t'u after his death as the leader in Ma-liu Wan. Li-ch'ü Ta-chi is also a leader who is both wise and brave. In managing his sister's affairs
[648] in Wu-chio, he knows how to use political expediency to make friends with all the Lolo branches in the area and also to associate closely with the Han-Chinese, thus gaining the confidence of Chinese officials in charge of Lolo affairs in Lei-po city. In recent years, whenever something happens between the Han-Chinese and Lolo, Ta-chi always plays the role of a
[115] go-between. Therefore he was recommended to the author as the chief headman-protector for this trip to Liang Shan. After entering the mountains we went from Ma-ching-tzu westward to Ting-chia P'ing. During this journey, Ta-chi secretly asked his maternal elder cousin [mother's elder brother's son], A-cho Chê-chio, to escort the team with the slaves while he and his clan nephew [i.e., son of a member of his generation in the clan], Lao-mu, took a roundabout way to wait for us at Cho-chiao-na-ta. At that time the author wondered why Ta-chi had to disappear in the middle of the journey, and it was only afterwards that we learned that the region between Ma-ching-tzu

[49]

CHAPTER 5

MARRIAGE

582 Lolo society offers no exception to the fact that the starting point of the family organization is the union of the male and female in marriage. Their social tradition gives rise to certain marriage regulations which govern the formation of kin groups as well as the relationship between men and woman in society. Some of the more important regulations are described below.

582 First, since the class system is strictly observed in the Lolo community, there is absolutely no intermarriage be-
564 tween the black and white Lolo. In other words, they practice class endogamy. Black Lolo males can only have females of the same class; similarly, white Lolo slaves who belong to another class have to choose mates from among members of their own class. The social regulation as such is very
836 rigid, though natural instincts among the sexes may lead to
684 illicit love affairs on certain fortuitous occasions without due
564 regard to the regulation. Such offenses are heavily punished. Thus, when a black Lolo female has unlawful relations with a white Lolo male, both are put to death. The man is forced to commit suicide by leaping into a river or from a rock; the woman takes poison or hangs herself. Within the Liang Shan community, this punishment is enforced very strictly [though there are exceptions like the following]. In 1928, after Yang
836 T'u-szu of Lei-po had passed away, his wife, the daughter of
564 An T'u-szu of Sha-ma, who was then a beautiful and roman-
626 tic woman of twenty, cohabited with her house manager, a
558 white Lolo named Yang Shou-hsüan. Therefore she was despised by the Lolo, and according to Lolo tradition, both sides should be put to death. Nothing happened, however, because there was no t'u-szu in the district to enforce the penalty. Nevertheless, An T'u-szu of Sha-ma disowned her as his daughter, while the black and white Lolo in her household, no longer considering her as the mistress, all deserted her. Fortunately, the daughter of Yang T'u-szu, named Tai-ti, who is now twenty-two and knows a little about worldly affairs, has been able to restore somewhat the family fortune and prestige which have greatly deteriorated.

836 While intermarriage between black and white Lolo is customarily prohibited, an illicit relationship between a black 564 Lolo male and white Lolo female is tolerated. The children 848 of such a relationship are called "yellow bones," that is, offspring of "black bone" males and "white bone" females. The "yellow bones" are accepted by neither the black nor the white Lolo, and their social position is quite precarious. It is similar to the position of the mulattoes, the offspring of the White and the Negro in America.

582 Secondly, marriage within a Lolo clan is prohibited. 614 All marriages have to be [50] sought outside the clan. This is called clan exogamy. In Chapter 2, clan organization has been described in detail. Through a single-descendant patrilineal family, the Lolo are able to preserve the unity of the clan groups mainly through clan exogamy. According to their tradition, brothers and sisters have a ma dzz gni mo relationship and no marriage is allowed between them. This kind of brother-sister relationship is extended to collateral branches to include father's brother's sons and daughters and eventually all the males and females of the same generation [who are descended from males] within the patrilineal clan, all of whom are strictly prohibited to intermarry.

593 Within the Lolo family, brothers and sisters both grow up under parental protection. Their relationship is affectionate but formal, and licentious behavior between them is absolutely forbidden. Although love affairs are quite common among the Lolo, a brother should not flirt with another girl in front of his sister. Similarly, a man is not allowed to flirt with a girl in the presence of her brother; otherwise her brother would beat him, and their quarrel, once stirred up, might lead to a clan feud. Male and female members of the 602 same clan, between whom marriage is prohibited because of 614 age-old traditions, usually behave toward each other in accordance with a formal code of propriety.

582 Thirdly, since the Lolo have to select their mates from within the same class but outside the clan, what kind of family group is the best from which to seek an ideal mate? According to Lolo tradition, the ideal marriage partner is ego's cross-cousin; hence there are numerous cases of cross-cousin marriage. In Lolo families, if a girl's paternal aunt has a boy and the boy's maternal uncle is the father of the girl, then the boy's family has priority in sending a matchmaker to negotiate for the girl's hand. For this reason the maternal uncle dare not marry his daughter into another family. Likewise, the son of a girl's maternal uncle has the

000 Lolo family, one should not attempt a strict demarcation of the several economic processes.

No matter how simple the society is, its economic structure is always based on the division of labor. [61] In other words, each individual in a social group has a special task to perform. Even in a fishing and hunting community, a division of labor between the male and female is very common. The man goes out hunting while the woman stays home to cook or to pick fruit in the neighborhood. In an agricultural and pastoral society, the division of labor between male and female is not as strictly defined as in the hunting and fishing community. Sometimes, as among the Pueblo Indians, the male takes the entire responsibility of agricultural labor; sometimes, as among the African Bathonga, the female assumes this responsibility. Among the Ifugao of the Philippines, the male is in charge of cultivation and harvest while the female does the weeding and gardening. In agricultural affairs 462 Lolo men and women cooperate in every way and work shoulder to shoulder in the field. But in some work there is still a division of labor. For example, magic and praying for rain are performed by men, with the pi-mu as leader, whereas cooking and carrying water are women's jobs, which the men take over only on special occasions. Other activities indirectly related to economic life, such as fighting, robbing, stealing, and so forth, belong to the men's province.

463 Besides the division of labor by sex, there is also in the 564 Lolo community a division of labor by class. Originally it had no direct bearing on economic life, that is, Lolo society was not divided into classes because of the differences in economic life or in occupation. The fact that the black Lolo nobles possess large tracts of land and ruling power while the white Lolo slaves are confined to menial work is actually the result of class distinction.

463 Cultivation, whether of corn in dry lands or of rice in 564 wet fields, is the sole responsibility of the white Lolo. The black Lolo never participate in any farm work. On the other 233 hand, although animal husbandry is also the duty of the white Lolo, the black Lolo often do it themselves. During the visit of the inspection team to Huang-mao Kang, we met a black Lolo, A-cho Shih-chio, tending a flock of 20 to 30 sheep with a white Lolo slave. Shih-chio was the benefactor of our interpreter, Wang Chü-sung. After an introduction, he accompanied us for several days, during which we strolled, talked, and laughed together, and became well acquainted. So I have had a chance to observe Shih-chio's life as a shepherd and to learn that the

463 black Lolo tend sheep themselves and do not consider ani-
564 mal husbandry a mean job as farming is. Furthermore,
233 every year during the shearing season, the black Lolo usually participate in the work; they especially take the leading part in the "wool fair" at Huang-mao Kang.

174 The fact that the Lolo look down upon farming gives the
564 author the impression that animal husbandry was originally the main economic activity of the black Lolo and that the Lolo were formerly a pastoral people. It was only after the conquest of the white Lolo and the capture of the Han-Chinese as slaves that the black Lolo started farming by forcing the conquered people to cultivate the land. Most of the white Lolo were originally Han-Chinese [62] who, having lived in the Lolo territory for many years, forgot their Han-Chinese ancestry and considered themselves as Lolo. This point will be discussed in detail in the subsequent chapter, "Classes." Here it suffices to mention briefly that the difference in the Lolo attitude towards grazing and farming may be attributed to the differences in the former economic life of the black and white Lolo, or in the relationship of the conqueror and conquered.

241 Agriculture, however, is the most popular enterprise
564 in the Lolo area today. Although the black Lolo do not cultivate the land themselves, the white Lolo, who constitute 80 to
[162] 90 per cent of the total population, are all engaged in farming. Provisions for both black and white Lolo depend upon the produce from the fields. In other words, agriculture is the main economic stay of the Lolo who have, however, a special system of their own in agricultural activity.

423 In Lolo villages, all arable land is the property of the
564 black Lolo. Due to the many divisions and branches within the clan, to the new economic units formed by the grown-up children at the time of their marriage, and to the inheritance of land by male heirs after the death of their father or grandfather, each black Lolo family has its own plot of land. In other words, the right of land ownership is geared to the family unit. This, however, applies only to the arable land for agricultural production and is quite different from the outlying village land, which has no clear-cut boundaries. The
423 village district includes the dwellings, the land or field en-
621 circling each house, the outer grazing land, and even the forests, mountain streams, and rivers. Actually only the house and the field constitute the land owned by each family, while the outlying pasture and forest are the common property of the entire village. Everybody has the right to use them, including all outside people who are not clan enemies. Different

While farming is done by household slaves, all farm products belong to the black Lolo master. This is so because even the slaves themselves are considered a part of the master's property. If there is more land than can be cultivated, it can be rented out to white Lolo "subjects" who do not have sufficient land of their own. The latter usually pay half of the produce as rent and keep the other half. Sometimes if the land is unusually fertile and productive, the landlord gets 60 per cent of the produce and the tenant 40 per cent. This ratio is somewhat similar to the agricultural system of the feudal period in China. The black Lolo can be compared to the feudal lords, the household slaves to the serfs, and the "subjects" to the tenants. Although economically self-supporting, the so-called "subjects" are bound to the black Lolo by other ties and their status is not completely independent. During the busy farming season the black Lolo master could order his "subjects" to send one person from each family to help the household slaves in cultivation and harvest. The helpers are not paid by wage or otherwise recompensed. It is their obligation to work for their black Lolo master, who at most would only provide them with meals during their working period.

The main products of Lolo agriculture are corn and buckwheat. Rice cultivation in wet fields is limited to the I-ch'ê Ho and Mei-ku Ho region and its yield is quite low. All the rice farming is done by Han-Chinese slaves as rice is not the indigenous culture of the Lolo, whose agriculture is still limited to dry land cultivation. Although its origin is not [64] known, there is no doubt that agricultural products provide the main source of food for Lolo families.

The routine of corn planting is a form of adaptation by the Lolo to the weather and natural environment. During late spring when the weather is warm, the Lolo start seeding. The seeds are planted on high mountain slopes in the third month of the lunar year, and on the plains in the fourth month. Before seeding, the Lolo farmers dig in the field small holes, in each of which are sown six or seven to a dozen or more seeds. These are wrapped with mud before they are worked into the soil. After seven or eight days they begin to sprout. The seedlings are examined for quality and only two are allowed to grow in each hole, the rest being pulled out. If there are less than two seedlings, the missing one will be replaced. Weeding begins a month later with both men and women working together in the field. After the weeds have been cleared, the field is fertilized with either dried cattle manure as in the Ta-liang Shan region or with fresh manure as in the Hsiao-liang

231 The Lolo do not
[262] drink milk but eat beef. The killing of an ox is considered a big occasion.

[564] Horses are the monopoly of the black Lolo, but are not driven in herds. The black Lolo use them for riding and hunting or for sports and racing. [66] The horse is the most precious animal, and its meat is not eaten.

Oxen, horses, pigs, and sheep, which are the most important domestic animals of the Lolo, constitute a part of their property with considerable economic value. Except for
262 the horse, the meat of oxen, sheep, and pigs can all be used for food. The daily meal of the Lolo is ordinarily limited to grains and vegetables. As to meat they have a different method of distribution. During the several festivals each year, such
262 as the wool fair, the New Year, and the farewell party to the
574 Buddha, they have to kill animals for sacrifice, after which members of the family gather to share in the sacrificial meat. On occasions such as weddings and funerals, they also divide the meat as a gift and eat and drink together. In cases of sickness, exorcising, drought, and praying for rain, they use magic to stabilize the disturbed emotions of the people, while at the same time they kill animals as sacrifices and gather together the clan members for a big feast. From the practical point of view, this kind of festival and entertainment is a traditional social device to give the people an opportunity to have an equal share of meat.

224 The economic life of the Lolo is basically agricultural and pastoral. Hunting, however, is also practiced. Groups of young Lolo would sometimes roam the wild mountains and forests to hunt tigers, leopards, and deer. Before the expedi-
[197 tion they would consult the diviner on its result. The food
262] from the animals they have captured is enjoyed together.

In industry, the building of a new house is considered
342 a major event. First, the builder assembles his clan members and neighbors and in their presence selects a date for building. Then, as an expression of united effort and mutual help, they all work together to build the mud wall, the wooden frames, the roof, and finally the walled fortress. Crafts,
463 such as the making of capes, ornaments, furniture, agricultural tools, wooden utensils, bamboo baskets, etc., are usually done by one or two persons. Only enough products are made to meet local household needs.

438 House, farm, and other immobile property are handed down as a family inheritance from father to son. They are not traded as commodities on the market. On the other hand, cattle, agricultural products, clothing and ornaments, furniture,

567 outskirts of Lei-po city, are the chief hiding places of Lolo
721 bandit bands. Day and night, whenever they saw small groups of Han-Chinese travelers on the road, they would rush out from ambush in the thickets to attack. After having threatened and killed one or two persons, they then seized the others and their belongings. The district outside Lei-po was often
[727] attacked at night. After they had broken into the house, the Lolo would capture all the men and women there and plunder and seize their property; sometimes they also burned down the house. The soldiers and civilians inside the city, even though they had heard the noise, dared not go out to help. The
567 Han-Chinese who went to the Lolo region to trade in opium usu-
609 ally employed some black Lolo to serve as headman-protectors, but somewhere on the way the Lolo would often turn the tables and kidnap their protégés as slaves. This is called "reverse protection." Farmers who went to the border region to reclaim waste lands also sought the protection of the black Lolo; again, at times, the Lolo would rebel and seize the Han-Chinese as slaves in a large-scale kidnap attempt. The victims, sometimes numbering as many as several hundreds, were sold in the Lolo region and transported to different places.

727 According to Lolo tradition, all captured persons and
564 goods are considered the property of the captor. If the black and white Lolo band together for robbing, the black Lolo can keep everything they have taken, while the white Lolo have to share a part of the loot with the black Lolo. All the booty is either retained or sold. The captured Han-Chinese people,
567 however, are always sold and usually change hands three or four times before they are finally kept as household slaves. This is done to prevent the Han-Chinese, if they should succeed later in escaping to Chinese territory, from identifying their kidnapper, who would be in danger of seizure and punishment by the government if he ever set foot in the Chinese territory. The price of slaves depends mainly on their age,
567 irrespective of sex. The very young and the very old who are
435 too feeble to work are sold cheaply, while strong youths and adults fetch a high price of 50 to 100 ounces of silver per person. If the Han-Chinese slaves are redeemed from Lolo territory, the ransom, always slightly higher than the buying price, is usually over 100 ounces of silver.

727 The Lolo not only seize people and goods in the Han-
628 Chinese territory, but also from their clan enemies. Mem-
567 bers of enemy clans take revenge and kill each other in feuds that may last for generations. Captured black Lolo have to be killed right away because they cannot be enslaved; on the other

648 Some of the especially powerful black Lolo aristocrats
564 were appointed by Chinese emperors of the Ming and Ch'ing
554 dynasties as t'u-szu [native chiefs] and t'u-mu [native officers]. This was done to appease the Lolo so that they would not rebel against the government and plunder and kill the Han-Chinese. After the initial appointment, the t'u-szu office became hereditary. During the last years of the Ch'ing dynasty, there were in the Lei-po region three t'u-szu families: the Kuo T'u-szu at Huang-lang, the An T'u-szu at T'ien Ku-mi, and the Yang T'u-szu in Lei-po city. Today, the Kuo family is without posterity; only two girls remain of the An family; of the Yang family, there is only a daughter named Tai-ti, as mentioned in a previous chapter. At the beginning of the Republic, there were further changes in the t'u-szu system. Moreover, the lack of a male heir in these families has caused a rapid decline of their power with the result that the Lolo people no longer take orders from them and that as a matter of fact the t'u-szu system has become [72] completely disorganized. The t'u-mu were formerly Lolo military officers or close relatives of the t'u-szu. After the decline of t'u-szu power, the title of t'u-mu has been applied without distinction to all and any influential black Lolo. For example, Hu Hsing-min of Wu-chio, who went to Lei-po to receive Chinese militia training and has become quite Sinicized, has been upheld by members of his clan as their leader and called t'u-shê by both Han-Chinese and Lolo. In Wu-chio, because of its proximity to the Han-Chinese city, the people generally adopt Chinese terminology, but in Liang Shan itself there are actually no such titles as t'u-szu or t'u-shê. For those powerful black Lolo leaders whom the Han-Chinese call pao-t'u, the Lolo term is merely ying tu-tu.

564 At present there is only one black Lolo class which
162 constitutes the ruling power in Liang Shan. On the average, there are ten white Lolo families for every black Lolo household. Take, for example, the Li-ch'ü branch in I-ch'ê Ho: there are five black Lolo households among the 50 households at Pa-p'u; nine black Lolo households among the 33 at San-ho-i-ta; and no black Lolo households among the 31 at I-lu. Thus, there are altogether 14 black Lolo households in the area compared to 100 white Lolo households. This number, however, does not include the various white Lolo pai-hsing subjects and Han-Chinese slaves of the Li-ch'ü branch around the P'u-ch'ien, A-ku, and Ku-p'eng area. Therefore we conclude that on the average every black Lolo family controls about ten white Lolo households. Actually a powerful black Lolo would have many more "subjects" and slaves and a weak black Lolo much fewer.

567 A strict distinction and an absolute lack of social equality exist between the black and white Lolo. As the owner of land and cattle, every black Lolo is a potential landlord. He regards as his chattels all kuo-chuang wa-tzu [household slaves] who till the field, tend the cattle, do daily chores, and perform other services for him. Even their very person is a part of the master's possessions, and they can be sold or transferred at his whim. An interesting incident which can serve as an example happened at the time of the author's investigation at the village of Hsi-ning. A black Lolo of the En-cha branch was [525] gambling at P'ing-pien with another black Lolo. He was a heavy loser, and after having emptied all the silver he had with him, he still owed the winner a large debt. He immediately ordered his personal attendant, a household slave, to go with the other black Lolo. The slave, who had served the En-cha black Lolo for a number of years and had grown attached to him, did not want to surrender himself to a new master. So he cried bitterly and refused to obey his master's order. The En-cha black Lolo was so infuriated at this disobedience that he chased the slave to the bank of the Hsi-ning river and while there threw a big stone at him. Fortunately, it missed. There were many eyewitnesses to this incident which demonstrates the relationship between the black and white Lolo.

Household slaves can also be transferred. At the marriage of a black Lolo girl, the maids follow the bride as a part of her dowry. In the division of family property after the parents' death, the slaves and the slaves' children are evenly distributed among the heirs, the male slaves going to the male heir and the female ones to the female heir. Sometimes when the number of slaves is not divisible, they may be purchased with silver or transfered in such a way so as to maintain the principle of equal distribution of the slaves among the heirs.

564 [73] While the black Lolo has absolute authority over
567 his household slaves with the power of life or death, to give or to take away, the white Lolo "subjects" are treated quite differently. These "subjects" have been long-time residents of the village for generations. They own their individual [421 houses, land, and other property. In Ta-liang Shan, if a 428] white Lolo "subject" should die without a male heir or a close relative, the black master could take over his land and property. Lolo tradition, however, forbids the selling of white Lolo "subjects" who consequently have a social status higher than that of the household slaves. During a clan feud, a captured white Lolo "subject" becomes the household slave of

564 another clan. Sometimes, when a white Lolo "subject" be-
567 comes so poor that he does not have an inch of land to stand on, the black master would not help him financially but would take him in as a household slave. Therefore there is considerable mobility among the white Lolo "subjects" and the household slaves. This mobility works two ways, for not only can the "subjects" be reduced to slavery, but also the slaves can be promoted to the "subject" status if they succeed in gaining their master's confidence.

564 Even those white Lolo who have acquired a "subject" status and are economically independent have to regulate their every action according to the black master's whim and take orders from him. If they rebel or seriously offend the black Lolo, they would be beaten or even shot to death. A landowning white Lolo often seeks to increase his holdings and accumulate wealth. In this case he could lease more land from the
[427] black Lolo if his own is not enough, the rent paid varying from 40 to 60 per cent of the harvest. This relationship is similar to that between landlord and tenant. Actually, the white Lolo have many economic obligations to their master. During the
[466] busy farming season or while building a new house, the master can summon the white Lolo to work for him without any compensation except for food and drink. During a clan feud,
[628] when the master musters the adult males for the fight, all white Lolo have to join. If the feud is settled through negotiation and the master has to pay indemnity, everyone of his white Lolo "subjects" has to contribute a share in varying amounts, depending upon the financial condition of the family.
564 At the New Year, each white Lolo household would present to
431 the master one bottle of wine and one half of a pig's head as a gift. They would also offer wine and other gifts on special occasions in the master's household, such as weddings, burials, and cremations. If the master takes a daughter-in-law, the present is a pig; if the master gives a daughter away in marriage, the contribution includes, besides the wedding gift, some silver for the girl's pocket money. In the event of death and burial, they contribute oxen and sheep for the sacrifice; in a religious ceremony, they offer wine in amounts from 20 to 100 catties. In addition to these contributions, the white Lolo "subjects" have an obligation to share expenses whenever the master entertains guests, needs financial help, or faces an emergency.

564 The social position of the black and white Lolo, as well
567 as their class status, can be observed from their daily life,
554 activities, and attitudes. At home, both male and female black

564 Lolo issue orders which the white Lolo have to obey, [74]
567 whether to do chores in the house or to run errands. During
554 meals, the white Lolo have to serve their master first before serving themselves. When they eat, specific seats around the stove are assigned the master and his slaves — a convention not to be violated. The sleeping quarters of the master are [513] on the left side of the house or the left side of the stove, while those of the white Lolo slaves are on the right side of the house beside the grindstone or toward the lower part of the stove. There is no difference in clothing except for the fact that the [291] black Lolo mistress of the house usually wears a long skirt trailing to the ground to show her dignity. All these are social conventions that differentiate the class status of the black and white Lolo.

564 Whenever a black Lolo master or mistress leaves the
567 house, he or she is always followed by some white Lolo, either
554 "subjects" or household slaves. If the master plans a long
484 journey, he usually takes along some of his "subjects," the household slaves being too busy with work to make the trip. On the road, the black Lolo walks with his hands unencumbered or with a gun while his white Lolo followers, varying in number from one or two to four or five, hold guns or other arms for him, or carry baggage, silver goods, and salt on the shoulder. When the master wished to smoke, the slave would [277] immediately step forward with a stone pipe that has a bamboo handle, fill it with tobacco and light it for the master. Fire is started in the conventional way by striking a piece of iron [372] on the flint and then lighted on a thread of twisted dried grass. When the master needed a drink, the slave would take out a wooden bowl from the bag and fetch water in it for the master, no matter how far he had to walk. While on route, whether traveling or stopping, the white Lolo always follow closely behind. During the author's trip to Liang Shan this was frequently observed.

In matters of dress and ornament, such as t'ien p'u-sa,
564 earrings, cape, and wide trousers, there is little distinction
156 between the black and white Lolo. Nor are there major differences in facial expression and physical stature. However, by observing carefully their behavior and attitudes, it is possible to tell the black Lolo from the white. The former is characterized by bright eyes and a drooping mouth, as well as a haughty bearing, reckless behavior, and an unyielding spirit. In contrast to this carriage, the white Lolo are always humble and ready to receive orders; they serve their master carefully; and although quite rude and imperious in dealing with

564 156 outsiders, they are always meek and obedient in front of the black Lolo, no matter to which branch or clan the latter may belong. This attitude, of course, is only generally true. As exceptions, there are also weak individuals among the black Lolo and strong ones among the white.

564 567 As a whole, the relationship between the black and white Lolo is that between members of the upper and lower classes. Economically, it is the master-slave relationship; socially, it is the superior-inferior relationship; politically, it is the ruler-subject relationship. Actually, the black master is neither severe nor cruel in ruling his slaves. Notwithstanding the difference in class and social status, they enjoy equal material welfare. If a black Lolo visits a white Lolo, [75] the [574] latter would treat him as the guest of honor and entertain him with all hospitality. In the case of a white Lolo visiting the black, he too will be provided with food and lodging so as not to starve or freeze. Ordinarily, all the food in the black Lolo [562] household is shared equally by its members. If the master has some fresh and new food, he shares it with his slaves, their children not excepted. During festivals or wedding ceremonies, when cattle are killed and the feast spread, they all enjoy the meat and empty the wine to welcome each other. If the master of the house entertains the guests generously and treats his slaves well, his reputation will spread far and wide and more "subjects" will come to him.

567 431 The fair treatment accorded the slaves is not confined to the distribution of food. All the clothes and ornaments of household slaves are supplied by the master. If a guest gives gifts to the master, he should also give some to the slaves; otherwise, even though the slaves dare not utter any complaint, the master and mistress will show their dissatisfaction on their faces. At all the houses where we stayed overnight during the inspection trip, we always prepared two sets of gifts, one for the master and the other for the slaves, in accordance with Lolo tradition.

564 567 The care and protection given to white Lolo slaves by their black master are not limited to material aspects alone; they also have important psychological bearings. If a white Lolo slave has some trouble, the master would do his best to help. It is clear that by assuming responsibilities for the white Lolo slaves, the black Lolo is able to make the white Lolo obey him voluntarily without reservation. Therefore, up to this time, no white Lolo rebellion against the black Lolo has been reported. Before the inspection team entered Liang Shan, we hired Li-ch'ü Ta-chi as our headman-protector.

564 When we were about to start, Ta-chi ordered his two slaves to
567 buy some sheep at the Su's store in Lei-po city. Unfortunately, the people at the store told them by mistake that the sheep were at the east gate. As these two slaves went there hurriedly in the darkness, the Han-Chinese thought that the Lolo had come to rob; soon a large crowd gathered and gave them a beating. As a result, both slaves were badly mauled. So Ta-chi was unwilling to go with the team and requested to remain at Lei-po to settle the dispute. Consequently, we were delayed for three days. Mr. Wang Yü-an, who was in charge of Lolo affairs, volunteered to settle the dispute with the guarantee that the two slaves would be returned safely to their home after medical treatment. He also strove to persuade Ta-chi to lead the inspection team as previously arranged. However, Ta-chi answered, "I took my slaves from Liang Shan to Lei-po. If I don't take them home and if their mother should ask for them, what could I say?" Brief as his statement is, it clearly indicates his sense of responsibility and an affectionate regard for the slave's welfare.

564 The life and property of the white Lolo are left com-
567 pletely in the hands of the black Lolo. If the household of a
628 white Lolo were attacked, the black Lolo would muster his
571 men to defend it. A feud between one clan and another, often caused by the involvement of some white Lolo slaves, leads to conflict and mutual killing. Sometimes the slaves of clan A seek refuge with clan B [76] which refuses to return them to the owner; sometimes the slaves of clan B are cheated and beaten by members of clan A; at another time, the slaves of the two clans may be embroiled in a dispute. Such incidents often lead to an armed conflict between the two clans. In brief, the black Lolo leaders of each clan consider it their responsibility to protect their white Lolo "subjects" and household slaves.

564 At the same time, the black Lolo has need of the
571 wholehearted support of the white Lolo to weld together the entire clan and to extend its influence externally. Because of the larger population of the white Lolo, their majority opinion is very important. Their influence can eventually determine the rise and fall of a black Lolo leader and the growth or decline of his power. Therefore the class relationship between black and white Lolo is mutual and not one-sided. The black Lolo has a set of responsibilities and obligations to the white; the same is true of the white Lolo's relations to the black.

564 Under the black Lolo's rule, the white Lolo is the
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564 laboring class. Originally, they were the household slaves
567 of various black Lolo clans; in a number of cases, these household slaves were later promoted to become "subjects." This kind of advancement, however, is achieved not through the use of money and property to gain the freedom of the person, but through a long period of faithful service to the master, thereby gaining his confidence and receiving from him land to establish a household. Then gradually they advance to the "subject" status. This promotion cannot be gained overnight and it usually takes a considerable period of time, sometimes as long as several generations. In Li-ch'ü Ta-chi's household, there is a slave by the name of Hu, who was captured in the battle of Shan-leng Kang in 1919. He has already served his master for more than 20 years and has won his master's confidence. A wife has been given him and she has borne him a child. He now owns a small house near Ta-chi's and farms his own land, but he still comes in to perform service for Ta-chi and to help in the management of household affairs. When the inspection team stayed at San-ho-i-ta, although Ta-chi had many other household slaves, Hu still had many duties to perform, such as killing and skinning sheep, building the fire, and cooking. He was also ordered to take the author to visit the mountain behind the house. Actually, Hu has not yet achieved "subject" status, partly because of his Han-Chinese origin — it is not until the second or third generation when their descendants no longer consider themselves Han-Chinese that the household slaves could become "subjects."

In their potential advancement and demotion as well as in their mobility, household slaves and "subjects" have social positions that are not very much different. [77] In Liang Shan today the "subjects" are the majority. The population is
[162] approximately one-tenth black Lolo, two- or three-tenths Han-Chinese slaves, and the rest is all white Lolo. After many
564 generations and long years, the white Lolo "subjects" have
614 their own family names and clans. For example: the Ch'ê-pi
551 white Lolo branch in the Ku-p'eng and P'u-to-i-ta area is quite populous and influential. To the west of I-lu is the Su-chia white Lolo branch, also very prosperous. At Wu-chio west of Lei-po are the white Lolo families of Tu, Ts'ai, Yang, and Po under the rule of the black Lolo Hu Hsing-min. Since the White Lolo have clan names, they marry outside of the clan and their kin relationship is the same as the black Lolo's. Also their clothing, food, housing, modes of travel, customs, traditions, and so on are entirely similar to the black Lolo's.

Sometimes, the white Lolo under different black Lolo

sometimes, the white Lolo under different black Lolo
564 masters may become involved in a conflict and eventually start
628 a feud which, once the situation gets beyond control, may lead
627 to an armed fight between two black Lolo clans. On the other hand, whenever the white Lolo under the same black Lolo master have a dispute, the black Lolo would come out to arbitrate and afterwards receive from the white Lolo a present of cattle as an expression of gratitude.

621 In a one-clan village, where there is only one black
564 Lolo leader, the white Lolo are assured of the safety of their lives and property and can serve their master wholeheartedly, but those white Lolo who live outside the village, between two clans, or in some remote area have to serve black Lolo leaders of two or more clans in order to live in peace and quietness without being harmed or destroyed. Besides their own master, these white "subjects" have to submit to the black Lolo of the other branches for added protection. To pay respects to his
[431] other master, the white Lolo offers a pot of wine and a half of a pig's head as presentation gifts in recognition of his new "subject" status; he also contributes wine and food for every New Year festival. Automatically, he discharges all the obligations of a "subject."

[614] The Ch'ê-pi white Lolo branch at Ku-p'eng is subject to the Wu-ch'i branch, but most of its members also serve the headman-protector of the Li-ch'ü branch. At La-li Kou, which is an important pass to and from Liang Shan and a thoroughfare for the various clans, the people are heterogeneous in composition and the place itself is far from being a one-clan village. So the "subjects" there belong at the same time to a number of different black Lolo branches in order to ensure the safety of the community. Thus the relationship between the different clans, as well as the relationship between the black and white Lolo, is by no means simple with well-defined boundaries, but rather complicated, overlapping, and varied according to local developments.

564 In the Lolo territory the Han-Chinese slaves, who form
567 a separate class, occupy the lowest position. In a black Lolo family only a small number of white Lolo serve as household slaves, the majority of them being Han-Chinese. The white Lolo could not make slaves of other white Lolo but they could capture or purchase Han-Chinese as slaves, commonly called san-t'an wa-tzu. The white Lolo serve only their black master
[78] whereas the Han-Chinese could also become slaves of white Lolo. The status of Han-Chinese slaves is therefore very inferior.

567 The origin of Han-Chinese slaves can be generally
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789 because of unlucky portents, they also ask the pi-mu to perform magic to find out where the enemy has buried the bone so as to destroy the wicked plot. In brief, the Lolo use magic to fight magic, and the battle of magic coincides with and parallels the battle of weapons.

[775] 784 At the time of death, according to Lolo belief, a man's soul runs away from this world to another. Like many other primitive people, they regard death as an important juncture and crisis in life. During this turning-point, their emotions are not only tense but also complicated. During the burial ceremony are expressed on the one hand the respect and love for the dead and on the other hand a sense of fear that comes as a reaction to the decaying human body.

Practically all the people in the world have similar funeral rites attended by close relatives. When a member of the Lolo family breathes his last, not only the whole family mourns together, but all his relatives, neighbors, friends, and slaves come to offer condolences by presenting gifts of oxen, wine, and various other items. Then they wash the corpse, arrange his hair, dress him in new clothes and ornaments, and assemble for a round of crying and mourning, after which they kill oxen or sheep to feast and drink together.

[787] The Lolo practice cremation. The entire corpse is burned after a person has been dead a day or two, or longer, the period to be determined by the pi-mu who selects the lucky date. They make a coarse wooden chair with two long boards on either side and a wooden plank across the middle — altogether nine pieces of wood for a man and seven pieces for a woman. The fully dressed corpse is then [100] placed on the wooden chair to be carried outside the house by four white Lolo slaves. Another slave in the front leads with a saddled horse and walks directly to the cremation ground to signify that the soul is departing on horseback. The place for burning the corpse is usually on a mountain at the back of the house. They spade a square piece of level ground, plant wooden stakes at the four corners, and on the forks above the stakes lay four horizontal pieces of wood as a scaffolding. Above it is placed a square plaited sieve of bamboo, on which is laid the wooden chair with the corpse. For the cremation, torches are lighted simultaneously on all four sides. When the flames rise, the Lolo outside the house immediately kill an ox with a big knife and beat the sheep to death with wooden poles in preparation for sacrificial offerings and a feast for the living.

[767 564] People who specialize in burning corpses are usually old and poor white Lolo, as most people are unwilling to take up this job.

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

CHAPTER XIII

THE FEUDAL SYSTEM

WE noticed while in Nosuland that every household with which we stayed possessed slaves or retainers. On inquiry we found out that this unknown part of China possesses the feudal system in its entirety. At the head are the Earth Eyes, or Earth Controllers, corresponding to the Chief Barons in the European Feudal System. Next to these come the Black Nosu, often erroneously called the Black Bones. It would be more correct to call them Black Bloods. Lower than these are the White Nosu, also erroneously named White Bones. Then follow on the slaves, who are usually, but not always, white Nosu who have not gained their freedom.

In the matter of intermarriage among these three classes the caste system is very rigidly preserved, intermarriage being practically unknown, and any approach to it being severely frowned upon. I had a letter a few years ago from an Earth Eye, asking if I could help him in a difficulty. He had married a wife or two, and had had no children. On the death of his proper wives he became very fond of a slave girl, and took her to live with him. When, later on, a son was born, he wanted to make the slave girl his proper wife. Then there was a storm among the relatives. He might keep up an irregular union as long as he liked, but such a thing as a legitimate marriage with this low-caste woman, which would have made the offspring heirs to the estates, was not to be entertained for a

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

564 moment. The Earth Eye begged my assistance, thinking
567 that if he became a Christian he would be able to keep his slave wife as his real wife. If I would help him to do this, and also allow him to continue to worship the family gods, he was willing to join the Church. The letter was quite a piteous appeal. I went to see him later on, and saw the slave wife. But of course there was no joining the Church on the terms laid down. Not long after the relatives got hold of the slave, beat her cruelly, and then flung her into a deep pit, where the wounded girl died an awful death. The Earth Eye was nearly frantic, and searched all about for her, but he did not discover her until too late. He nearly broke his heart over the loss of the girl, for whom he had a strong love.

564 The majority of the land on which the Nosu live, whether
648 in independent Nosuland or in the provinces of Yunnan and
425 Kweichow, is in the hands of the Earth Eyes. Where they have properly submitted to the Chinese Government, these Earth Eyes pay the usual land tax to the local mandarins. The paying of this land tax has been a boon to many of these Earth Eyes. When the Chinese Government first appointed officials over the districts where the Nosu owned the land there was the difficulty of the language. Many of the Black Bloods knew nothing of Chinese, and were very nervous about meeting the officials on the occasion of tax-paying. Some of the Earth Eyes set to work to study Chinese and became quite familiar with the ways of the officials' yamens. When they had reached this point they generously offered the Black Bloods their assistance. The latter were only too thankful to agree. The Earth Eyes then paid the taxes for the others, and as an acknowledgment of this kindness a gift of a goat or a sheep was made at the time of the tax-paying.

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

Later on the officials demanded the registration of all the land, and the Earth Eyes not only registered their own lands in their own names, but registered the lands of the confiding Black Bloods as well, also in their own names. Before long they claimed these lands as their own, and an appeal to the official registers confirmed their claims. In this way the Black Bloods were done out of a lot of their land, and have had no redress. Sometimes the Earth Eyes have been weak men, and then the Black Bloods have tried to wrest back their lands, and here and there they have succeeded in doing so.

As a rule the Earth Eyes retain a part of the land for their own immediate use. Of the rest a part is rented out to tenants, who enjoy a fairly good fixity of tenure, and the rest is apportioned at a very nominal rental to the Black Bloods who, in addition to the various services they have to render to their overlords, pay a nominal rental, often in kind. The rent is just large enough to keep evident the overlord's title to the land. In some cases a horse and an ox have to be paid to the overlord by each generation, and a goat every three years.

The Black Bloods have to render fealty to the Earth Eyes, and when visiting them have to perform the kotow. The Earth Eyes can demand their services at any time, and when any fighting has to be done they must bring their men properly armed and provisioned, ready to defend their Earth Eye from attack, or to make attack on his behalf Now that the Chinese Government is being more firmly established over the lands where the Nosu own most of the soil, fighting is not so general as it used to be, but even now, in purely Chinese-governed territory a year never passes without some record of tribal fighting which engages a lot of men and leads

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

564 sometimes to loss of life. The Black Bloods in return for
701 their lands must put their lives and services at the disposal of the overlords, who sometimes rule them with a rod of iron. I know one Black Blood who dare not ride a horse in the district where he lives because the overlord has forbidden that privilege to Nosu of the second rank. When talking to me about the affairs in his neighbourhood the Black Blood saved his face by ascribing his not riding a horse to some other reason, but I found out the true reason why he always walked.
[231] I know it was a real deprivation, because to a Nosu a horse is almost as necessary as to an Arab of the desert.

[567] Nearly all the Earth Eyes and Black Bloods keep a number
564 of White Blood retainers, some of whom are slaves, with their
631 property, persons and family at the absolute disposal of their masters. These retainers again have portions of land assigned to them, and pay for this land in personal service. They also have to hold themselves in readiness to respond to their lord's call, and to fight for him and even lay down their
567 lives if so commanded. I visited some of the slaves' homes,
726 and saw, hung on the wall of each house, weapons and a bag
202 of oatmeal. In the bag are also a thin copper basin and a spoon. The weapons must always be in readiness and the bag full. Whenever there is trouble or the overlord needs help in fighting the ram's horn is blown from the lord's castle or residence, and as soon as the warning sound is heard the retainer seizes his bag of oatmeal, ties it over his shoulder, takes his weapons in his hands and hastens to the sound of the ram's horn. It is astonishing how far the sound of these horns carry. In some places the aborigines who have become Christians call their companions to worship by the blowing of one of these horns. The hole is not at the end of the horn,

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao
Lolo AE4

769 wrapped round with a piece of calico, coarse as canvas, which is often the colour of a cocoanut from smoke and age. This *lo-lo* contains one or two bamboo tubes two or three inches long, about as thick as a man's little finger, and in the tube are fastened a bit of grass and a piece of sheep's wool. There is also a piece of bamboo six or seven inches long, like a thick pointed skewer, which goes through the *lo-lo*, and is doubtless used to fix it in its place. This *lo-lo* is sometimes kept in the house, sometimes placed in a tree, and sometimes hidden in a rock.

101 The Chinese also call them I-chia and I-pien, and these are the names mostly used in Kwei-chow. The word *I*, among many other things, means "remote," "foreign," and has the notion of barbarian in it. The word *pien* means "side," "place," "boundary." They call themselves *No-su*, and by this name we shall hereafter mostly speak of them.[1] What the two words mean we are not able to say. They are divided into two classes, the Black and the White. The Black are the patricians or land-holders; the White are the plebeians, the tenants and serfs, often the slaves, of the patricians. In Szechwan they speak of them as "Black bones"

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[1] The term *Lo-lo* they themselves regard as derogatory, and it is to them offensive.

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao
Lolo AE4

564 and "White bones," but we never heard those terms used in Kweichow.

427 161 Although the Black No-su own so much of the land in north-west Kweichow and north-east of Yunnan, the No-su are not numerous. They are evidently a vanishing race, at any rate in Kweichow and around Chaotung. It is, we imagine, because of their diminishing numbers that they have taken so many of the Miao as tenants, who now greatly outnumber them.

A very interesting article on the No-su appeared in the March number of the *Chinese Recorder* for 1910, written by the Rev. C. E. Hicks of the United Methodist Mission, Chaotung, Yunnan. With Mr. Hicks's kind permission we make ample use of that article, and of a letter he has written us, in attempting to describe these people to our readers.

173 The No-su are not the original inhabitants of the Chaotung district and the adjoining parts of Kweichow. According to their own tradition, they came from Tibet, and it is worthy of note, as confirmation of this, that some of the No-su race are to be found all the way from the borders of Tibet to Chaotung. They say their ancestors were two brothers, Wu-sa and Wu-meng, who, like Esau and Jacob, struggled together in the womb of their mother; hence,

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao
Lolo AE4

Last year a laird was executed at Suei-ts'en in Kweichow, but he must have been a small one.

Thus there exists in north-western Kweichow and north-eastern Yunnan what is actually the feudal system. Many of the lairds own vast estates, as large as an English county, and all the people on the estate are their tenants. The lairds are all of them Black No-su, and the White No-su are their serfs or slaves. These lairds are nearly all related to one another, as they constantly intermarry for the sake of joining and enlarging their estates. A No-su heiress is always pestered and sometimes actually besieged by suitors. A laird always marries the daughter of some other laird, and as there is but a limited number of them, this constant intermarriage has doubtless contributed to the decadence of the race and to the frequency of lunacy among them. They may, and often do, have Chinese and Miao women as concubines.

The Miao tenants, who greatly outnumber the No-su tenants, are not slaves, but practically serfs. The soil is very poor, and any Miao, if he fancied a piece of unoccupied land, might build his hovel there and cultivate some of it. The lairds are glad to have them as tenants; the rent they pay is mostly in kind, and not by any means high. As a matter of fact, the tenants,

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao
Lolo AE4

which is henceforth regarded as of extreme value. 764

The Black No-su are not all of them territorial magnates, but we believe all the poorer ones farm their own land, and even these, as a rule, own a few slaves who do all the work for them. Some of the White No-su are free at the present time. The Black class assert that all the White were originally slaves, and that in the case of those who are now free, either they themselves or their parents escaped at some previous time from their masters. 564 566

The masters of these unfortunate slaves have absolute control over them, and manage all their affairs. The girl slaves he marries to other men's male slaves. The lot of these unfortunate people is hard beyond description. Being looked upon as of little more value than the cattle they tend, the food given to them is often inferior to the corn with which the master's horse is fed. The cruel beatings and torturings they have endured have completely broken their spirit, and now they seem unable to exist apart from their masters. Very seldom do any of them try to escape, for no one will give them shelter, and the punishment awarded to a recaptured slave is so severe as to intimidate the most daring. These poor creatures are born in slavery, married 566

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China
Lolo AE H

101 The derivation of the term Lolo is supposed to be as follows. At the close of the Sui Dynasty (581-618 A.D.) the outstanding leaders among the Man were bestowed the name of Kuei-chu, a term designating the chief who headed the shamanistic ceremonies in sacrifices to spirits. Literally it means "Master of the Spirits". The people of the Lo-tien area of southern Kuei-chou (where the Lolo were dominant) (See Photo 11) then called the Kuei-chu of the Lo Clan by the abbreviated term Lo-kuei ("Lo-spirit"). This term became erroneously changed to Lu-lu and subsequently to Lo-lo.[81]

564 It is very clear, said Eickstedt in 1944, that the source
791 and origin of the Lolo lie in the north. Culture, economy
212 and even physical feature types point toward the north.
171 As the Lolo culture moved southward, it became watered down. The core of the northern group in recent years was built around the so-called Independent Lolo lords of Ta-liang Shan in southwestern Ssu-ch'uan. Here a blood-proud caste of nobility, the Black-bones, who fought, rode, herded horses and ruled, oversaw a stratum of underlings, the White-bones, who took care of the daily bread, and a stratum of slaves. The latter were formed from the intermixture of the original inhabitants with numberless former Han-Chinese who had been robbed and kidnapped and had forgot their heritage and now took themselves to be Lolo. Here in the Ta-liang Shan the singular culture of the entire folk has been expressed most strongly. Intermarriage between castes was punished by death. The witch-doctors and rulers even had an entirely separate script, which, besides serving cult purposes primarily, also had practical uses. But this ended at the Yun-nan borders. The farther south one traveled, the more one found that Lolo independence was reduced and the less there was of social stratification. In places in Yun-nan proper, the script, the horse-herding, and the name Black-bone are completely unknown among the Lolo.[82]

142 The types found among the Lolo in different localities show extraordinary differentiation in significant ways, according to Eickstedt. Thus, in Burma the clear, high Mongol racial element from the South China orbit is unmistakable, and this also is to be found in southeast and southern Yun-nan. In Ssu-ch'uan the middle China element is preponderant among the masses, while in the upper stratum of Blackbones, the tall-statured element with features of high relief, that is, the Europoid type, is clearly discern-